

Legendary Art & Memory in Republican and Imperial Rome:  
the Statues of Horatius Cocles and Cloelia

By

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### *Abstract*

The display contexts of the bronze statues of legendary heroes, Horatius Cocles and Cloelia, in the Roman Forum influenced the representation of these heroes in ancient texts. Their statues and stories were referenced by nearly thirty authors, from the second century BCE to the early fifth century CE. Previous scholarship has focused on the bravery and exemplarity of these heroes, yet a thorough examination of their monuments and their influence has never been conducted.<sup>1</sup> This study offers a fresh outlook on the role the statues played in the memory of ancient authors. Horatius Cocles and Cloelia are paired in several ancient texts, but the reason for the pairing is unclear in the texts. This pairing is particularly unique because it neglects Mucius Scaevola, whose deeds were often relayed in conjunction with Horatius Cocles' and Cloelia's; all three fought the same enemy at the same time and place. This pairing can be attributed, however, to the authors' memory of the statues of the two heroes in the Forum. I have created an original map reconstructing the locations of the statues using a map of the Augustan age Roman Forum. This new map serves as a useful tool for examining the relationships of the statues. A textual and topographical analysis of the two statues shows that the locations of these monuments in the Forum and memory of their display contexts in the minds of Roman authors such as Cicero, Virgil, Valerius Maximus, and Pliny the Elder bonded Horatius Cocles and Cloelia together and left out Mucius Scaevola. Roman authors remembered historical figures based on the locations of their monuments rather than on a timeline, emphasizing the role of art in memory.

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<sup>1</sup> Roller 2004; Short 2014; Mustakallio 2012

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part I: Horatius Cocles and Cloelia.....	1
Part II: Analysis of Statue Display Context.....	8
Part III: Texts and Display Contexts.....	16
Part IV: Conclusions: Art & Memory.....	34
Image Index.....	40
Bibliography.....	46

## PART I. HORATIUS COCLES AND CLOELIA

Horatius Cocles and Cloelia were legendary Roman heroes of the early Republican period who famously fought against King Porsenna and the invading Etruscans around 509 BCE. Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Livy provide the earliest and most complete versions of their tales.<sup>2</sup> Cocles battled the invading Etruscans on the Pons Sublicius.<sup>3</sup> Fighting alone, he fended off the Etruscans on the bridge while the Romans tore it down behind him to prevent the enemy from besieging the city. Once the bridge was torn down, Cocles jumped into the Tiber in full armor and swam to shore, miraculously still alive after this feat. Polybius reported that Cocles died from his leap, but all others claim that he survived and many list the rewards for his deed. Dionysius and Livy both wrote that the Roman people set up a bronze statue of Cocles in the Roman Forum, that he was given as much land as one yoke of oxen could plow in a day, and that the public gave the hero rations of food.

Cloelia was a young girl who performed a famous deed at almost the same time, against the same enemy, and at the same place as Cocles. She was one of the female hostages given to King Porsenna and was stationed in the Etruscan camp with her fellow hostages. Cloelia fled the camp on the west side of the Tiber, swimming across the river and leading the other hostages. They were later returned to Porsenna, who was so impressed with Cloelia's deed that he gave her

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<sup>2</sup> Polybius, *Histories* 6.55; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 5.23-35; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 2.10-13. Polybius only discussed Cocles' story.

<sup>3</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus 5.23.2: Dionysius stated that Cocles' real name was Publius Horatius. He was given the nickname "Cocles" on account of having his eye struck out in a previous battle, which is likely related to κύκλωψ, "rounded-eyed" or "one-eyed." (Cary 2001, 69)

a horse as a gift and allowed Cloelia and the other hostages to return to Rome.<sup>4</sup> Livy reported a slightly different version, yet Porsenna's awe of Cloelia is emphasized here, as well. Both authors highlight the valor of the deed in light of Cloelia's gender. Livy stated that this was an equestrian statue, while Dionysius could only report that she was given an honorific statue, offering no specific information since he wrote that the statue had been destroyed in a fire and was no longer standing.<sup>5</sup>

### *Their Honorific Statues in the Roman Forum*

Both Dionysius and Livy wrote that Horatius Cocles and Cloelia were honored with bronze statues. Of the nearly thirty authors who referenced Cocles and/or Cloelia in their texts, there are eight authors who discuss the statues explicitly: Dionysius, Livy, Pliny the Elder, Seneca the Younger, Plutarch, Aulus Gellius, Aurelius Victor, and Servius. In regards to Cocles' statue, Dionysius said that it was in the most important (*κρατίστω*) part of the forum, referring to the area of the Comitium, as this was an important political zone in Republican Rome.<sup>6</sup> The Comitium was outside the Curia Julia in the northwest corner of the Forum and was the meeting place of the Comitia Curiata.<sup>7</sup> Livy explicitly stated that Cocles' statue was in the Comitium (*statua in comitio posita*).<sup>8</sup> Though Pliny offered more commentary than many other authors about Cocles' statue, he did not specify its exact location.<sup>9</sup> He did, however, seem to indicate that it was in the Comitium; the two statues he described before Cocles' statue, those of Attus

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<sup>4</sup> Dionysius 5.34.3: Livy did not mention this gift, instead a gift of hostages. Livy 2.13: Livy said that Porsenna allowed Cloelia to choose half of the remaining hostages to return to Rome and that she chose the young boys since she believed them to be the most in danger.

<sup>5</sup> Livy 2.13; Dionysius 5.35.2

<sup>6</sup> Dionysius 5.24.2

<sup>7</sup> Richardson 97

<sup>8</sup> Livy 2.10.12

<sup>9</sup> Pliny the Elder 34.11

Navius and Hermodorus of Ephesus, he noted were in the Comitium, and the statue he discussed after Cocles' was on the Rostra, in order moving from northeast to south. Therefore by placing Cocles' statue between these locations it seems that this too was also near the Comitium. This important detail will be discussed further below. The final three ancient references to Cocles' statue, Plutarch, Aulus Gellius, and Aurelius Victor, all located the statue in the Vulcanal, a nearby shrine to Vulcan, although Gellius offered more information about the move, stating that the statue was moved after it was struck by lightning in the Comitium.<sup>10</sup>

Cloelia's statue, on the other hand, stood on the Sacra via, at the eastern edge of the Forum. Dionysius stated that her statue was on the Sacra via that lead to the Forum.<sup>11</sup> Livy specified that it was on the *summa sacra via*.<sup>12</sup> This statue, however, was also reported as one of Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, supposedly the only hostage that swam across the Tiber, according to Annius Fictilis, as reported by Pliny. Pliny himself did not mention where the statue stood in his time. Seneca showed no signs of doubt about the identity of the statue, however, declaring that Cloelia's statue stood on the Sacra via (*equestri insidens statuae in sacra via, celeberrimo loco*).<sup>13</sup> Like Pliny, Plutarch offered a similar anecdote for Cloelia's statue in both his *Moralia* and the *Life of Publicola*; that her statue stood on the Sacra via, but that it might have been Valeria.<sup>14</sup> Though there is some uncertainty on whether the statue was of Cloelia or Valeria, it seems that there was only one female equestrian statue in this area and it was predominantly believed to be Cloelia among the ancient authors. Aurelius Victor did not shed

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<sup>10</sup> Plutarch, *Life of Publicola* 16.7; Aulus Gellius 4.5.1-4; Aurelius Victor 11.2

<sup>11</sup> Dionysius 5.34.2

<sup>12</sup> Livy 2.13.11

<sup>13</sup> Seneca, *De Consolatio ad Marciam* 16.2

<sup>14</sup> *Moralia* 250F; *Life of Publicola* 16.7

much light on the location; he stated that her statue stood in the Forum (*in foro*).<sup>15</sup> Finally, Servius declared that Cloelia's statue stood on the Sacra via and that he had seen it (*quam in sacra via hodieque conspicimus*).<sup>16</sup> Therefore, Cloelia's statue still stood in late antiquity when he wrote his *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid*.

According to Pliny, these were the first statues set up at public expense.<sup>17</sup> In this respect, the statues of Cocles and Cloelia parallel the statues of the Tyrannicides in the Athenian Agora. The bronze statues of the tyrant slayers, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, were set up in the Agora after they successfully killed Peisistratid tyrant, Hipparchus, in 514 BCE.<sup>18</sup> This statue group was also the first in Athens to be paid for with public funding.<sup>19</sup> This assassination ultimately led to change in the Athenian government; to democracy. The deeds of Cocles and Cloelia helped repel another tyrant, Porsenna, and afterwards Rome instituted the Republic. Like the statues of the Tyrannicides, the statues of Cocles and Cloelia were also set up in public space in prominent locations along the main thoroughfare in the Roman Forum. Both sets of statues represent important historical figures in public space and shifts in government at roughly the same time.

### *History of the Statues*

Without archaeological evidence a precise history of the statues is difficult to determine. The statues of Cocles and Cloelia most likely met the same fate of many other Republican

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<sup>15</sup> Aurelius Victor 13.4

<sup>16</sup> *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid* 8.646

<sup>17</sup> *Natural Histories* 34.13

<sup>18</sup> Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.20, 6.56-57; Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* 2.10 ext. 1

<sup>19</sup> Taylor 1991, 13-19



bronze statues and were melted down and reused in another form.<sup>20</sup> Thus we must rely on the textual evidence in their absence. Modern scholarship has offered insight into the history of the statues themselves. Some believe that the statues were erected at the end of the sixth century BCE as the ancient historians stated,<sup>21</sup> while others attest that both Cocles' and Cloelia's statues were first erected in the late fourth century BCE, citing the fourth century as a more appropriate time for portrait statues to appear in Rome.<sup>22</sup> Although the age of the statues is important for understanding their overall history and significance to the Roman people, this is not the focus of this paper. Instead, I will focus on the history of the statues in the time in which the ancient authors discussed them; the first century BCE to the fifth century CE.

The textual evidence indicates that Cloelia's original statue had been replaced sometime during the first century BCE to the first century CE. Dionysius stated in his account, written from 29-7 BCE, that the statue of Cloelia had been destroyed in a fire.<sup>23</sup> Dionysius asserted that he himself did not see the statue, but his text suggests that he had visited the area where her statue used to reside. Pliny the Elder's *Natural Histories* and Seneca the Younger's *De Consolatio ad Marciam*, however, indicate that Cloelia's equestrian statue stood in the first century CE. In his *Natural Histories*, published in 77 CE, Pliny went into great detail about Cloelia's statue and even noted that she wore a toga, providing the only description of her statue.<sup>24</sup> Seneca wrote his *De Consolatio ad Marcia* earlier still in 39 or 40 CE in which he stated that Cloelia's statue sat on the Sacra via and "taunted" (*exprobat*) passersby, all using

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<sup>20</sup> K. Welch 533; Hölkeskamp 488-489

<sup>21</sup> Roller 2004, 21; Hafner 1969, 27-33; Hill Richardson 1953 98-101

<sup>22</sup> Roller 2004, 21; Sehlmeier 1999, 109; Hölscher 1978, 332-335

<sup>23</sup> Hornblower & Spawforth 2003, 478; Cary 2001, vii; Dionysius 5.35.2

<sup>24</sup> *Natural Histories* 34.13

present tense verbs.<sup>25</sup> The time gap can be further narrowed using Valerius Maximus' text, published sometime during Tiberius' reign in 14-37 CE, which indicates that he has seen Cloelia's statue. Valerius conflated Cloelia's story with her statue, stating that Cloelia crossed the river on horseback, instead of swimming on her own as Dionysius and Livy had written.<sup>26</sup> This conflation and its significant implications will be discussed further below. In addition, Plutarch and Servius suggest that Cloelia's statue stood in their lifetimes, further evidence that Cloelia's statue must have been replaced.

Matt Roller and Markus Sehlmeier have suggested that Augustus probably replaced her monument during his reign, as he had restored other ancient monuments and erected statues of Republican heroes in the Forum of Augustus.<sup>27</sup> Assuming this, the statue that these Roman authors saw was erected sometime between 29 BCE, when Dionysius began writing *Roman Antiquities*, and 14 CE, the date of Augustus' death, though possibly between 29 BCE and 2 BCE, when the Forum of Augustus was dedicated, or even from 29-19 BCE, the latter being the year of Virgil's death.<sup>28</sup> Virgil's *Aeneid* indicates that he may have seen Cloelia's restored statue or remembered the location of her destroyed statue, which will be discussed below. Regardless of the exact dates, Cloelia's statue was re-erected by the time Tiberius became emperor in 14 CE.

Returning to Pliny, his account offers a meager, semi-ekphrastic, description of the Augustan replacement statue, that she wore a toga (*ceu parum esset toga eam cingi*), yet this

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<sup>25</sup> Hornblower & Spawforth 2003, 96; *De Consolatio ad Marciam* 16.2

<sup>26</sup> Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* 3.2.2

<sup>27</sup> Roller 2004, 45-46; Sehlmeier 1999, 98-101. The statues of the *summi viri* in the Forum of Augustus were equipped with *elogia* to provide written information about the statues, making them easy to identify for the literate. It does not appear to have been the case for Cloelia's statue, since Plutarch expressed confusion over whether the statue was Cloelia or Valeria, and Pliny quoted Annius Fetalis saying that the statue was that of Valeria.

<sup>28</sup> Cassius Dio 55.10; 60.5.3; Velleius 2.100, Richardson 1992, 160-162; Hornblower & Spawforth 2003, 1602

speaks volumes.<sup>29</sup> In Augustus' time men typically wore a toga, not women. It was uncommon for women to wear togas and generally those who did were prostitutes.<sup>30</sup> Cicero famously compared Antony to a prostitute in the *Philippics*, claiming that Antony did not wear the toga of a man, but that of a prostitute.<sup>31</sup> Previously both men and women wore togas, but after the second century BCE Roman women traded their togas for stolas, a long pleated dress inspired by the Greeks and the preferred attire in the Augustan era. Thus the Cloelia statue that Augustus replaced shows an attempt at archaizing the statue. The Romans would have been able to see this change in clothing in art from the early and mid-Republican periods and would have been able to identify that Cloelia's attire was not a comment on her profession, but rather an attempt at historical accuracy. Girls who had not yet reached puberty may also have worn the toga, but representations of this in art are quite rare. Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Jones question whether young girls ever wore togas in reality. The debate aside, if the toga was a marker of age, Cloelia's toga could also indicate her youth. Cloelia's masculine toga also fits nicely with her "manly" virtue, as she was often described. Cicero commented on her masculine quality in his *De Officiis*, and Dionysius, Manilius, Livy, Pliny, Valerius Maximus and several other authors discussed Cloelia's "manly" bravery.<sup>32</sup> Thus Cloelia's toga may serve as a comment on her masculine virtue, in addition to its archaizing attempt. Much like the modern woman dons a suit for work, typically "male" attire, Cloelia too donned the typically male toga to perform a "male" deed in the eyes of the Romans. Cloelia's masculine identity and the toga as a marker of her masculinity is an important factor in how she was remembered, which is reflected in the texts.

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<sup>29</sup> Pliny 34.13

<sup>30</sup> Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Jones 2007, 182 & 190-195

<sup>31</sup> Cicero, *Philippics* 2.18.44; Vout 1996, 215

<sup>32</sup> Cicero 1.61; Dionysius 5.34.3; Manilius, *Astronomica* 1.780; Livy 2.13.8; Pliny 34.13; Valerius Maximus 3.2.2; Silius Italicus 13.830; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 250F; Lucius Florus, *Epitome of Roman History* 1.4.7; Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 8.31.1

The history of Cocles' statue is less complicated. Although Cocles' statue changed locations, the textual evidence indicates that his statue was indeed quite old and had not been replaced, at least within the time span of the extant texts.<sup>33</sup> Pliny the Elder even noted that the statue "still remains today" (*quae durat hodieque*), marveling at the fact that such an ancient statue was still standing.<sup>34</sup> Had the statue been a recent replica, he would not have made this remark.

Cocles' statue was moved from the Comitium to the Vulcanal and it might be possible to date this event. Gellius' text regarding its move to the Vulcanal is quoted from Verrius Flaccus' first book of *Things Worth Remembering*, noted in his text.<sup>35</sup> Verrius Flaccus flourished in the first century BCE and died an old man during the reign of Tiberius, providing a *terminus ante quem* of 37 CE, the last year of Tiberius' rule.<sup>36</sup> Livy, whose text was completed in 14 CE, is the last author to explicitly state that Cocles' statue was in the Comitium. Thus Cocles' statue could have been moved after Livy wrote his *Ab Urbe Condita* around 14 CE and before Verrius Flaccus died, sometime before 37 CE, the years of Tiberius' reign.

## PART II. ANALYSIS OF STATUE DISPLAY CONTEXT

In this section I will demonstrate how the locations of the statues of Cocles and Cloelia in the urban center of Rome greatly influenced their textual representations. As a tool for discussing the locations of the statues of Cocles and Cloelia, I have created a map that reconstructs these locations (Figure 1). To my knowledge, this is the first attempt to do so. To

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<sup>33</sup> Roller 2004, 21; Sehlmeier 1999, 109 and Hölscher 1978, 332-335 indicate that the statue was replaced in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE, but there is no archaeological or textual evidence for this

<sup>34</sup> Natural Histories 34.11

<sup>35</sup> Aulus Gellius 4.5

<sup>36</sup> Nettleship 1880, 255

create the map, the textual evidence for the statues' location was compared to the archaeological evidence of the surrounding structures. The map itself is based on the results of the topographical survey conducted by L. Haselberger and D. G. Romano, thus at least the locations of the structures within the Roman Forum in the Augustan era are quite secure.<sup>37</sup>

### *Reconstructing the Locations of the Statues*

I have placed Cocles' statue in the southeast corner of the Comitium (Figure 2). Several ancient authors stated that Cocles' statue was in the Comitium. The Comitium was an important open-air assembly area used beginning in the late seventh century BCE in the northwest corner of the Forum.<sup>38</sup> Karl Hölkeskamp stated that the Comitium and the later Forum were the most important political and symbolic spaces in Rome's political topography during the Republican period.<sup>39</sup> The Comitium was located in front of the Curia Hostilia, the original senate house built, according to tradition, in the seventh century BCE by Tullius Hostilius, Rome's third king, and the Curia Julia, originally built by Julius Caesar in 44 BCE to replace the Curia Hostilia.<sup>40</sup> In addition to the Comitium being an important political area, it was also a sacred space, a inaugurated *templum*.<sup>41</sup> Romulus and Titus Tatius were believed to have formed an alliance and a double monarchy here.<sup>42</sup> The *lapis niger* is also located here, which has strong connections

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<sup>37</sup> Haselberger & Romano, 2002, 47 & main map. I traced Haselberger and Romano's map in AutoCAD. I added the locations of the statues and the sites of the heroic deeds of Cocles and Cloelia. Cloelia's deed is an approximate location; there are no descriptions of where exactly she crossed the Tiber.

<sup>38</sup> Coarelli 2008, 53

<sup>39</sup> Hölkeskamp 2006, 489

<sup>40</sup> Richardson 1992, 102-103; Varro, *Lingua Latina* 5.155; Cassius Dio 44.5.2, 45.17.8

<sup>41</sup> Hölkeskamp 2006, 488

<sup>42</sup> Carandini 2011, 92

with Romulus.<sup>43</sup> The Graecostasis and Rostra were also located here until Julius Caesar moved the Rostra to the center of the Forum, just south of its original location in the Comitium. The Sacra via was just to the south of the Comitium in the late Republic and thereafter.<sup>44</sup>

It was in this area of the Forum that Cocles' statue stood. The location of the Republican and early Imperial Comitium has been well documented through archaeological excavation. Its complex history is presented in Paolo Carafa's book, *Il Comizio di Roma dalle origini all'età Augusta*.<sup>45</sup> Filippo Coarelli also discussed eight levels of the Comitium identified from test trenches excavated by Giacomo Boni in 1899, from the late seventh century to an Augustan age paving.<sup>46</sup> Giuseppe Fiorelli, Andrea Carandini, John Patterson, and others also provide extensive information about the Comitium and its location. Carafa has mapped the Comitium relative to the Curia Julia, which has allowed me to plot the site of the Comitium (Figure 1) and therefore the relative location of Cocles' statue on Haselberger and Romano's map.

Narrowing the location of Cocles' statue within this area is a difficult task. Without archaeological evidence, such as a statue base, we must once again return to the texts. Pliny's account was written after Verrius Flaccus reported that Cocles' statue was moved to the Vulcanal, but Pliny's prose indicates that the statue was still in or near the Comitium. In Pliny's *Natural Histories* he described statues of historic figures in the Forum. In 34.11 he discussed the statue of Attus Navius, an augur during Tarquinius Priscus' rule, which he noted was in front of the

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<sup>43</sup> Claridge 1998, 73: The *lapis niger* was believed to be either a grave marker of Romulus or the spot where he was murdered or miraculously disappeared, or the tomb of an early king of Rome, or where Romulus' father, Faustulus, died. This too would have been another possible reason for Valerius Maximus associating Cocles with Romulus and is instance of public monuments influencing memory and text.

<sup>44</sup> Richardson 1992, 339; Carandini 2011, 91; Carafa 1998, 151-152: The Sacra via's original route cut through the north side of the Comitium, between the Comitium and the Curia Hostilia.

<sup>45</sup> The Comitium's archaeological history is not the focus of this paper. Instead, the archaeological context in time of the textual pairings of Cocles and Cloelia.

<sup>46</sup> Coarelli 2008, 53-54

Curia (*ante curiam*), the Curia Julia. Coarelli also attests that this statue was probably in front of the Curia.<sup>47</sup> Immediately after that he mentioned a statue of Hermodorus of Ephesus, a fourth century BCE philosopher, which he said was in the Comitium (*in comitio*). Pliny then briefly mentioned Cocles' statue, but gave no location, then moved to the statues of the Sybils and of Camilius on the Rostra (*in rostris*). A few sentences later he stated that a statue of Gnaeus Octavius stood "*in rostris*," as well (Figure 3). Gnaeus Octavius was killed and beheaded in 87 BCE and his head nailed to the Rostra. Since Julius Caesar had not yet built his Rostra, Gnaeus Octavius' head must have been nailed to the Rostra Vetera, the Republican Rostra in the Comitium, not the later Rostra that Caesar built nearby, also attested by Richardson.<sup>48</sup> Presumably the Rostra Vetera is also the location of Gnaeus Octavius' statue and thus the locations of the statues of the Sybils and Camilius. Pliny mentioned the statues in order beginning in front of the Curia and moving southwest towards the Sacra via. Thus it may be plausible to infer that Cocles' statue stood to the south of the Comitium, the location of Coarelli's Vulcanal. Coarelli believes that the area surrounding the *lapis niger* constituted the Vulcanal.<sup>49</sup> Giacomo Boni placed the Vulcanal at the southwestern edge of the Arch of Septimius Severus, completed in 203 CE, forty meters southwest of the *lapis niger* and site of

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<sup>47</sup> Coarelli 2008, 54

<sup>48</sup> Richardson 1992, 371

<sup>49</sup> Coarelli 1983, 161-178; Coarelli 2008, 56: "“This group of monuments [Figure 3], in my view, constituted the Vulcanal, the very ancient sanctuary of Vulcan, which various witnesses situate in the Comitium near the Graecostasis and Rostra. In fact, the Niger Lapis sits precisely between these two Republican platforms. Accordingly, the traditional identification of the Vulcanal with the ruins near the *umbilicus urbis* may now be discarded. As Festus, the only writer to use the term *niger lapis*, confirms the *niger lapis* is not the tomb of Romulus – who was supposed to have died miraculously – but the site of his death, according to one tradition, at the hands of the senators. Plutarch's *Life of Romulus* (27.6) informs us that the first king of Rome was supposed to have been assassinated in the Vulcanal. Thus the monuments beneath the *niger lapis* and the Vulcanal appear to be one and the same.” Coarelli 2008, 63: Coarelli claims that Boni's Vulcanal is actually the Altar of Saturn.

Coarelli's Vulcanal. Coarelli stated that the Vulcanal was reconstructed in 9 BCE, according to a dedicatory inscription to Vulcan discovered in the area, just five meters southeast of the *lapis niger*.<sup>50</sup> This is the form of the Vulcanal that existed in Pliny's time. Following the path of Pliny's gaze would suggest that the site of the Augustan Vulcanal was the location proposed by Coarelli: Pliny began in the east of the Comitium and moved clockwise to the south (Figure 2). This observation could provide additional evidence for Coarelli's location of the Vulcanal and therefore the secondary context of Cocles' statue.

Now to turn to Cloelia's statue location, which I believe was across the Sacra via from the fourth century CE Temple of Romulus (Figure 1). Cloelia's statue was set up "*in summa sacra via*," as Livy specified, or simply "*in sacra via*," as Seneca, Plutarch, and Servius stated. There is no consensus about the exact location of the Sacra via, which changed in course and level throughout antiquity. Scanty remains of Augustan pavement have been discovered from the Regia to the Arch of Titus.<sup>51</sup> Lawrence Richardson cited the *summa sacra via* as passing near the Temple of the Lares, the *domus regis sacrorum*, and the Temple of Jupiter Stator.<sup>52</sup> He states that this area was lined with shops and houses in the late Republican period. Andrea Carandini also placed the *summa sacra via* in this area, between the Regia and the street leading to the Carinae district, just east of the fourth century CE Temple of Romulus and passing the house of the Tarquinii, later the *domus publica*.<sup>53</sup> Both assessments cover a great deal of ground, making it difficult to place Cloelia's statue. Turning to ancient sources, Pliny stated that Piso had written that Cloelia's statue had been set up across from the Temple of Jupiter Stator, in the vestibule of Tarquinius Superbus' home, which was south of the Temple of Romulus, along the

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<sup>50</sup> Coarelli 2008, 56

<sup>51</sup> Richardson 1992, 339

<sup>52</sup> Richardson 1992, 338

<sup>53</sup> Carandini 2011, 78



Sacra via, and just east of the street leading to the Carinae district.<sup>54</sup> Assuming that Augustus restored Cloelia's statue, he likely would have re-erected the statue on or near its original location along the *summa sacra via*, near the former home of Tarquinius Superbus, between the visible remains of the house of the Vestal Virgins and the Temple of Romulus. Augustus also restored the Temple of the Penates and the Temple of the Lares nearby, which shows that he conducted restoration projects in the vicinity of Cloelia's statue.<sup>55</sup> Homer Rebert claimed that the phrases "*in summa sacra via*" and "*in Velia*" (on the Velian hill) were linked in Augustan times, referring to the vicinity of the Temple of Romulus, which he believed was the former site of the Temple of the Penates.<sup>56</sup> Coarelli, however, claimed that the Temple of Romulus is the former site of the Temple of Jupiter Stator.<sup>57</sup> If Coarelli is correct, and I believe he is, this narrows the location of Cloelia's statue to a strip of land south of the Sacra via across from the Temple of Romulus.<sup>58</sup> This area was the site of Tarquinius Superbus' home and was across from the former temple of Jupiter Stator, as Pliny stated, and thus Augustus would have reconstructed her statue in the same area. This is also a fitting location given its history of Republican structures and the later house of the Vestal Virgins, since Cloelia was a *virgo* at the time of her deed. For these reasons my reconstruction of the location of Cloelia's statue is here (Figure 1).

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<sup>54</sup> Pliny 34.13. Claridge 109-111: The Temple of Romulus was originally built by Maxentius for his deceased son, Valerius Romulus, in 309 CE and was converted into the basilica of Santi Cosma e Damiano in 527 CE.

<sup>55</sup> Richardson 1992, 232, 289, 451,

<sup>56</sup> Rebert 1925, 59

<sup>57</sup> Coarelli 1983, 26-33; Coarelli 2008, 90

<sup>58</sup> Since Pliny quoted Annius Fetalis, saying that Valeria's statue stood across from the temple of Jupiter Stator, in the vestibule of Tarquinius Superbus' home (34.13: *e diverso annius fetialis equestrem, quae fuerit contra iovis statoris aedem in vestibulo superbi domus, valeriae fuisse, publicolae consulis filiae, eamque solam refugisse tiberimque transnavisse ceteris opsidibus, qui porsinae mittebantur, interemptis tarquinii insidiis*). We will, of course, assume that Annius mistook Cloelia for Valeria, since the textual evidence predominantly supports a statue of Cloelia.

I believe Mary Boatwright's study of gender in the Roman Forum offers a possible explanation for the placement of Cloelia's statue on the *summa sacra via*, instead of in the Comitium with that of Cocles. Boatwright identified the Forum as a gendered space, one in which Roman women were not welcome. She stated that the Forum was a primarily masculine space in the Republican period, with the exception, of course, of the house of the Vestal Virgins and the Aedes Vestae, into which men were not typically allowed.<sup>59</sup> Both the Comitium and sanctuary of Vesta were already in existence at the end of the sixth century BCE when the deeds of Cocles and Cloelia took place, according to tradition.<sup>60</sup> Regardless of the date of the original statues (late sixth century BCE or fourth century BCE), these structures and their gendered functions were well established before the erection of the statues. Although the Comitium and Aedes Vestae were remodeled multiple times, their purposes remained relatively the same,<sup>61</sup> establishing gendered spaces.

Boatwright does discuss Cloelia's statue, but does discuss Cloelia's statue in conjunction with Cocles' statue.<sup>62</sup> Despite this, however, I believe Boatwright's study of gendered space in the Forum allows for a clear understanding of the distance between the statues of Cocles and Cloelia and adds a gendered nuance to Dionysius' use of "*κρατίστω*" to describe the location of Cocles' statue in the Comitium. This "most powerful" space was a masculine zone. Placing Cloelia's statue next to Cocles in the Comitium would have been a violation of the gendered space, despite the similarity of the deeds and honorific statues themselves. With the sanctuary of

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<sup>59</sup> Boatwright 2011, 110-119

<sup>60</sup> Caradini 2011, 64-68; Coarelli 2008, 52; Claridge 1998, 73-74. Foundation of the sanctuary of Vesta most often ascribed to Numa Pompilius: Ovid, *Fasti* 6.257-60; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.66.1; Festus 320L; Plutarch, *Life of Numa* 11.1

<sup>61</sup> Although the function of the Comitium changed in the late Republic and lost its importance (Richardson 1992, 98), this area remained a masculine space due to the government activities in the surrounding structures, such as the Curia Julia.

<sup>62</sup> Boatwright 2011, 120-122

Vesta already established nearby, the eastern edge of the Forum was not the male dominated zone that the western edge was, thus allowing the placement of a statue of a heroine. Boatwright also stated that Cloelia's was the only female statue in the Forum in the Republican period, highlighting the importance of the statue and of the memory of Cloelia.<sup>63</sup> In Augustan and early Imperial Rome images of women began to be more prevalent, yet the presence of female statues in the Forum itself remained quite rare.<sup>64</sup>

In summary, a walk through the Forum along Sacra via provides a clear view of both statues; Cocles' in the Comitium along the western Sacra via and Cloelia's along the eastern Sacra via, across from the Temple of Romulus. The Sacra via functioned as a vein connecting these two public areas.<sup>65</sup> Depending on the exact location of the location of the statues and other impeding structures, it may have even been possible to view them at the same time in the same line of sight, establishing an even stronger relationship between the two.

Many Romans were funneled into the Forum via the Sacra via and became a street of shops.<sup>66</sup> The many shops that lined the Sacra via certainly indicate its high foot traffic, as a business owner would not want to set up shop in a low traffic area.<sup>67</sup> A Roman who walked this path on a regular basis would have repeatedly seen these two statues, along with a host of other statues, yet it is clear that the Romans understood that Cocles and Cloelia's statues were a pair, though separated by distance. This relationship is apparent in the surviving texts and highlights the fact that the Romans remembered the statues of Cocles and Cloelia. Seeing the statues on a

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<sup>63</sup> Boatwright 2011, 122: other known statues of females, such as Gaia Taracia, Gaia Caecilia, Quinta Claudia, Cornelia, Tarpeia, and Cleopatra have been proven to have been set up outside of the Forum.

<sup>64</sup> Boatwright 2011, 124-127

<sup>65</sup> Carandini 2011, 93

<sup>66</sup> Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 2.265-266; Ovid, *Amores* 1.8.100; Propertius 2.24.14-15;

<sup>67</sup> Richardson's 1992, 339-340: inscriptions found here indicate the many different trades along the Sacra via.

routine basis caused the Romans to bond Cocles to Cloelia due to their memories of the dual images of the heroes in the Forum.

### PART III. TEXTS AND DISPLAY CONTEXTS

#### *The Absence of Scaevola*

Although the reason for the pairing of Cocles and Cloelia will become clear below, it should be noted that when one ignores the impact of public monuments, this pairing is quite strange. It is strange that these authors neglected to include another hero who performed similar deeds against King Porsenna, Mucius Scaevola, who should rightfully be mentioned alongside Cocles and Cloelia. All three heroes fought against King Porsenna and the invading Etruscans at the end of the sixth century BCE and traditionally were mentioned together by historians. Livy and Dionysius discussed Scaevola's attempted murder on the king in the Etruscan camp across the Tiber in conjunction with Cocles and Cloelia's deeds. In both versions Porsenna let Scaevola go free, yet only in Livy's version did Scaevola famously burn off his right hand, earning him his nickname, "Lefty." These historians also referenced honorific statues of Cocles and Cloelia, but did not mention a statue of Scaevola, whom it seems should have been given a similar honor due to the similarity of the deeds. There is one lone and comparatively late reference for a statue of Scaevola, that of Aurelius Victor in the first half of the fourth century. Victor claimed that a statue of Scaevola did exist, after having discussed the statue of Cocles.<sup>68</sup> Victor made an assumption about Scaevola's memorialization because Cocles was memorialized in this way. It is also clear that Victor had mistakenly copied Livy's text (shared words in bold and similar statements are underlined):

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<sup>68</sup> 11.2; LTUR Vol. IV, 161

Livy 2.10.12 (Cocles): *grata erga tantam uirtutem ciuitas fuit; statua in comitio posita; agri quantum uno die circumarauit, datum.*

Livy 2.13.5 (Scaevola): *patres C. **Mucio** uirtutis causa **trans Tiberim** agrum dono dedere, quae postea sunt **Mucia prata appellata***

Victor 12.6-7 (Scaevola): ***Mucio prata trans Tiberim** data, ab eo **Mucia** appellata. Statua quoque ei honoris gratia constituta est.*

Victor changed Livy's *causa virtutis* to *gratia honoris*, a similar sentiment. He conflated Scaevola's reward with Cocles' since Livy wrote that both were given land, in which case Victor thought that both had statues erected in their honor. He also did not offer a location for the mysterious Scaevola statue, though he gave a location for Cocles' statue (*in Vulcanali*), which casts further doubt on the existence of a Scaevola statue. Victor also made a significant mistake in reporting an episode of Caesar's *Gallic Wars* (and likely made many others), further evidence that Victor's text is not reliable.<sup>69</sup> Thus, of the three legendary heroes, only two, Cocles and Cloelia, did indeed have statues in the Forum.

There are seven occasions in which Cocles and Cloelia are mentioned together: Cicero's *De Officiis* 1.61, Virgil's *Aeneid* 8.650-651, Valerius Maximus' *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* 3.2.1-2, Pliny's *Natural History* 34.13, Silius Italicus' *Punica* 10.484-492, Cassius Dio's *Roman History* 45.31.1, and Servius' *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid* 8.646. I will use the term "paired" to refer to mentioning two of the three heroes together in a text. When the heroes are paired they appear either in the same line of poetry, the same sentence or paragraph, or appear in succession one paragraph after another. When Cocles and Cloelia are paired it is clear that the author was thinking of them as a pair due to their honorific statues in the Forum.

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<sup>69</sup> Allen 1935, 170: Florus 1.45 wrote that Caesar burned Alesia down, but Florus confused Alesia with Gergovia. Caesar burned Gergovia, not Alesia.

Twenty-seven authors referenced at least one of these legendary heroes, Cocles, Cloelia, or Scaevola, in thirty-two different texts and all three heroes appear together seven times, mostly in historiographic contexts: Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities* 5.23-35, Manilius' *Astronomica* 1.777-781, Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* 2.10-13, Plutarch's *Life of Publicola* 16-19, Florus' *Epitome of Roman History* 1.4, Juvenal's *Satires* 8.265, and Aurelius Victor's *De Viris Illustribus* 11-13. Manilius' *Astronomica* is particularly interesting, in which he listed all three of the heroes next to each other in the night sky, highlighting the triadic nature of the three heroes. I have created a chart (Figure 5) to list all of the references to Cocles, Cloelia, and Scaevola and their pairings.<sup>70</sup>

Many of these references are to a single hero of the three, but several of them are paired. Cocles and Scaevola are paired eight times and generally in contexts of manliness, bravery, or on account of having been injured during the encounters with Porsenna and the Etruscans.<sup>71</sup> Both men bore visible battle scars from these deeds. Cocles was rendered lame from a spear to the buttocks, in addition to missing one eye from a previous battle, and Scaevola had lost his entire right hand, or at the very least it was badly scarred and deformed.<sup>72</sup> Though Cloelia was often cited as having a manly spirit in ancient texts, she was distanced from the other two on account of her gender. Also, Cloelia did not fight in any battles or kill any Etruscans, as Cocles and

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<sup>70</sup> Consulted Wissowa 1901, Jordan 1907, Gilbert 1883 in regards to the references for Cocles, Cloelia, and Scaevola among the ancient texts.

<sup>71</sup> Cicero, *Paradoxa stoicorum ad M. Brutum* 1.12; Appendix Virgiliana, *Culex* 361-372; Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae* 10.2.3; Plutarch, *Moralia: on the fortune of the Romans* 3.1; Ampelius, *Liber Memorialis* 20.4; Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 45.32.2, 46.19.8, 53.8.3

<sup>72</sup> It is unclear what state Scaevola's hand was in after the famous act of bravery. Livy used the word "*clade*" to describe the state of Scaevola's hand (2.13.1), but this could refer to the loss of the hand entirely or the loss of the use of the hand, meaning that it was badly damaged and scarred but still present. Manilius used the word "*trunco*" to describe Scaevola's hand (1.779), but this word has the same issue and could either mean that his hand was mutilated or cut off entirely. In Seneca's Dialogue On Providence he used "*exusta*" to describe Scaevola's hand (3.4), but again this does not tell us whether his hand was completely burned off or not.

Scaevola did. Therefore it is reasonable that Cloelia would be left out of such references since she did not experience a physical trauma or scarring of any sort and had no military experience. Cloelia was an example for Roman women, but not for Roman men, which is reflected in the texts.

It is particularly noteworthy that Cloelia and Scaevola were never paired in ancient Greek and Roman texts.<sup>73</sup> Despite their similarities in deeds against their Etruscan foes, there seems to be no parallel between the two that warrants them being mentioned as a pair. So then, if Cloelia and Scaevola were never paired, the only difference between this pair and that of Cocles and Cloelia is the fact that Cocles and Cloelia both had statues in the Forum.

### *The “Pairing” of Cocles & Cloelia*

#### i. Cicero

Now I will examine the seven textual references that pair Cocles and Cloelia and show that the authors were in fact thinking about and remembering these statues as they wrote. These seven references are unique because they do not offer clear reasons for their pairings, and the exclusion of Scaevola, in the texts. The pairings are subconscious on the authors’ part, deriving from the statue pair.

Beginning with the earliest text, Cicero’s *De Officiis* discusses both Cocles and Cloelia, although he only explicitly named Cocles:

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<sup>73</sup> There is one late reference from the early fifth century CE by a Christian author, Orosius, in his *History Against the Pagans* 2.5.3, written around 416-417 CE (Hornblower & Spawforth 2003, 1078). Culturally, however, this does not truly belong with the rest of the references to Cocles, Cloelia, and Scaevola. Orosius was a Spanish priest who traveled to Africa, where he wrote *History Against the Pagans*. Although he traveled extensively in the Roman world, he did not travel to Rome, which had just been sacked by Alaric I in 410 CE a few years before Orosius wrote his text. Orosius was not a true Roman and therefore his pairing of Scaevola and Cloelia can be discounted.

... *Itaque in probris maxime in promptu est si quid tale dici potest: Vos enim, iuvenes, animum geritis muliebre, illa virgo viri et si quid eius modi: Salmacida, spolia sine sudore et sanguine. Contraque in laudibus, quae magno animo et fortiter excellenterque gesta sunt, ea nescio quo modo quasi pleniore ore laudamus. Hinc rhetorum campus de Marathone, Salamine, Plataeis, Thermopylis, Leuctris, hinc noster Cocles, hinc Decii, hinc Cn. et P. Scipiones, hinc M. Marcellus, innumerabiles alii, maximeque ipse populus Romanus animi magnitudine excellit. Declaratur autem studium bellicae gloriae, quod statuas quoque videmus ornatu fere militari.*

And so, when one hurls an insult, the first one spoken, if possible, goes like this: “Since you, young men, bear a womanly soul, you, maiden [Cloelia], bear a manly one.” And something like this: “Son of Salmacis, win spoils that cost neither blood nor sweat.” On the other hand, when we offer praise, in some way we praise that which is brave and most excellent in a great soul. Hence the field of rhetoricians who speak about Marathon, Salamis, Plataea, Thermopylae, and Leuctra, and hence our **Cocles**, the Decii, Gnaeus and Publius Scipio, Marcus Marcellus, and innumerable others, and especially the Roman people themselves excel in greatness of the soul. But their fondness of military glory is revealed **because we generally see their statues wearing with military gear.**<sup>74</sup>

The Loeb translation correctly cites the “*illa virgo viri*” as referring to Cloelia.<sup>75</sup> As discussed above, Cloelia is often referred to in a context of manly courage given her exemplary deeds, so Cicero’s description of her is fitting, although he seems to be quoting a well-known taunt of some kind. The next historical figure that Cicero named was Cocles, followed by other heroic men, then noted that he had seen their statues in military gear. A reader can easily see Cicero’s thought process in this excerpt. Cicero tied the Cloelia taunt to Cocles, who reminded him of other heroes, some of which had statues. Cicero was thinking about the statues he had seen in Rome, visualizing Cocles’ statue.<sup>76</sup> His memory of these statues and their impact on him is evident. While crafting his own art, he had art of a different sort on his mind. Yet, at the time Cicero was writing, Cloelia’s statue may not have stood. Dionysius of Halicarnassus reported that Cloelia’s statue had been destroyed in a fire in nearby houses in his *Roman Antiquities*, but he wrote his text in about 29-7 BCE. Cicero’s text was written in 44 BCE. There are two

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<sup>74</sup> All translations are my own.

<sup>75</sup> Miller 1997, 62

<sup>76</sup> Roller 2004, 22



possible scenarios here. First, that Cloelia's statue had burned down after Cicero wrote *De Officiis*, in which case Cicero would have seen the older version of Cloelia's statue. Second, that Cloelia's statue had already burned down, but the location of her vacant statue base still stood and was well known to the people. Either Cicero was remembering the statue before it was destroyed or knew where her statue had stood before it was destroyed. Whether he was remembering the actual statue or its vacant base, the fact is that Cicero linked the statues in his memory. It is noteworthy that Scaevola is absent from Cicero's list of male heroes, due to the lack of an honorific statue.

We know, of course, that Cicero would have seen the statues in Rome, as well, due to his many political offices (*quaestor*, *aedile*, *praetor*, and *consul*), which would have required him to enter the Forum.<sup>77</sup> Though the Comitium had lost much of its original function and importance by Cicero's time, this space was well known through Hadrian's time, illustrated by the use of the phrase "*in curia in comitio*."<sup>78</sup> This space was directly in front of the Curia Hostilia, which Cicero himself referenced in his *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*.<sup>79</sup> Cicero would have passed through the Comitium on his way to the Curia Hostilia on a regular basis and therefore would have seen Cocles' statue. During the second Catilinarian conspiracy Cicero called for a meeting of the senate in the Temple of Jupiter Stator, which, according to Pliny's sources, was just across the Sacra via from the statue of Cloelia.<sup>80</sup> Cicero must have seen both statues – or at least Cloelia's base – on a regular basis. Because of this he joined these two in his memory, which caused him to join them in his *De Officiis*, as well.

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<sup>77</sup> Hornblower & Spawforth 2003, 1558

<sup>78</sup> Richardson 1992, 98

<sup>79</sup> Richardson 1992, 102; Cicero, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* 5.2

<sup>80</sup> Cicero, *Oratio in Catalinam Prima* 11

## ii. Virgil

Virgil also paired Cocles and Cloelia in his most famous work, the *Aeneid*. In his *ekphrasis* of Aeneas' shield Virgil placed Cocles and Cloelia on the shield amidst an array of Roman heroes, but did not include Scaevola:

8.646: nec non Tarquinius eiectum Porsenna iubebat  
accipere ingentique urbem obsidione premebat;  
Aeneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant.  
illum indignanti similem similemque minanti  
aspiceres, pontem auderet quia vellere **Cocles**  
et fluvium vinclis innaret **Cloelia** ruptis.

8.646: And Porsenna also ordered them to receive cast out Tarquin  
And overwhelmed the city with a great siege;  
The sons of Aeneas rushed on the sword for the sake of freedom.  
You could look upon him, scorned and menacing,  
because **Cocles** dared to demolish the bridge,  
and **Cloelia** swam across the river after breaking her bonds.

Given the similarity of Scaevola's deeds to Cocles and Cloelia and the historians' triadic grouping of the three heroes there was no reason to exclude Scaevola from the trio in Virgil's work either. Virgil drew from his visual memories of walking through the Forum and seeing the dual images of these two heroes.<sup>81</sup> Here, too, we can see the impact that art had on the Roman memory. Since there was no statue of Scaevola, Virgil did not include him on Aeneas' shield. Presumably Virgil could have crafted one more line of poetry to describe Scaevola's famous deed, yet did not. Instead, as Cicero had done, Virgil also paired these two heroes rather than the entire triad because he was thinking about art as he wrote. Aeneas' shield itself was a work of art, crafted by Vulcan. Before the description of the shield, Virgil described Aeneas' own examination of his new divinely crafted armor.<sup>82</sup> Virgil drew attention to Aeneas' awe of the

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<sup>81</sup> Rea 2007, 3-5: Rea emphasized Rome's visual culture and how poets such as Virgil drew from Rome's visual culture via public monuments.

<sup>82</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.615-625

skillfully crafted pieces, that his eyes examined each part of the work (8.618: *oculos per singula voluit*), and that he admired the pieces as he turned them over in his hands (8.619: *miraturque interque manus et brachia versat*). After the description of the shield, Virgil again noted Aeneas' excitement about the images on the shield (8.729-730: *talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis, miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet*), further highlighting the effect of art of the viewer. Virgil put himself in Aeneas' place in this context. Virgil examined and remembered art in the Forum just as Aeneas examined his new armor.

Virgil's text makes it clear that he saw these two statues in the Forum, or like Cicero, saw and recognized Cloelia's statue base before her statue was restored. In addition, it is well known that Virgil lived in Rome. Suetonius said that Virgil moved to Rome after the age of fifteen and owned a house on the Esquiline hill.<sup>83</sup> Suetonius also commented on Virgil's relationship with Augustus, who had commissioned the *Aeneid*. Virgil traveled with Augustus and even read some of the books of the *Aeneid* to him aloud.<sup>84</sup> A great deal of the imagery in Virgil's *Aeneid* can be related to Augustus' view on art.<sup>85</sup> Augustus was well aware of the importance of art, both the visual arts and poetry. The Forum of Augustus parallels Virgil's *Aeneid* in this respect. In addition to being an architectural and artistic achievement, his Forum also emphasized Rome's history and Augustus' divine family history. Augustus erected statues of the *summi viri*, Republican heroes, and included statues of Romulus and Aeneas in central niches in the galleries.<sup>86</sup> There were over one hundred life-size statues of historic figures, from Aeneas to Drusus, Augustus' son. The Forum of Augustus and Virgil's *Aeneid* show the importance of art

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<sup>83</sup> Suetonius, *Life of Virgil* 6-13

<sup>84</sup> Suetonius, *Life of Virgil* 32

<sup>85</sup> Hornblower & Spawforth 2003, 1606; Zanker 1990, 181-210

<sup>86</sup> Shaya 2013, 84-85

in the age of Augustus. Thus, not only was Virgil in Rome, but he was also impacted by Rome's art and Augustus' propagandistic use of art.

In the *ekphrasis* of Aeneas' shield, Virgil discussed historical and legendary figures from vastly different time periods. It is true that Virgil did seem to order them chronologically, to some extent, in his description of the shield, but it is not clear that this order is also present on the shield.<sup>87</sup> Williams noted that Virgil did offer locations for some scenes on the shield (e.g. the battle of Actium is in the center, 8.675-676: *in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella, cernere erat*), but location on the shield does not necessarily dictate the order in which a viewer would describe the scene.<sup>88</sup> Virgil could simply have been describing the images in an order that made sense to him, not following a particular order inherent on the shield. Huet explained this as well, stating that there is no rule in reading images as there are in reading a text, which we read right to left and top to bottom.<sup>89</sup> An artist can leave clues for the viewer, but the viewer is not obligated to follow them. Augustus' *summi viri* statues had *elogia* that detailed their names and deeds, but this was not necessarily typical of Roman statuary.<sup>90</sup> On the other hand, Laird suggested that visual images and stories are interchangeable, to a certain extent, in that they evoke similar emotions: both art and text tell stories.<sup>91</sup> It is unlikely that the figures on the shield would always be described in the same order, and each viewer could arrange the order differently. This could also be true of a Roman describing monuments he/she saw while walking through the Forum.

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<sup>87</sup> *Aeneid* 8.617-731

<sup>88</sup> Williams 1981, 8

<sup>89</sup> Huet 1996, 21

<sup>90</sup> Shaya 2013, 85

<sup>91</sup> Laird 1996, 88-89: Aeneas and Odysseus are both moved to tears, but this reaction has two different sources. The source of Aeneas' tears comes from his act of viewing artistic representations of the Trojan War while Odysseus' tears are the result of him listening to the Phaeacian bard telling the tale of the Trojan War.

### iii. Valerius Maximus

Next, Valerius Maximus provides the most important example of the pairing of Cocles and Cloelia, showing their inherent connection as a result of the public statues. Valerius wrote historical anecdotes during the reign of emperor Tiberius, from 14-37 CE. In Valerius' thematically organized chapters he included concise tales spanning Rome's entire history. Valerius Maximus best illustrates the effect of the statues of Cocles and Cloelia on the memory and text of the Romans. In the *praefatio* of his chapter on bravery, *De Fortitudine*, in his *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, Valerius Maximus noted that he intended to discuss Romulus, but begged the founder of Rome to permit him to tell the tale of Cocles first. Despite his pledge to talk about Romulus next, he instead related the tale of Cloelia:

3.2.init.: ...*Nec me praeterit, conditor urbis nostrae, Romule, principatum hoc tibi in genere laudis adsignari oportere. sed patere, obsecro, uno te praecurri exemplo, cui et ipse aliquantum honoris debes, quia beneficio illius effectum est ne tam praeclarum opus tuum Roma dilaberetur.*

3.2: Nor does it escape me, Romulus, founder of our city, that the first place in this category of praise should be bestowed upon you. But allow yourself, I beg you, to be preceded by one example, to which even you yourself owe a fair amount of honor, because thanks to this example your most famous work, Rome, was not left in ruin.

3.2.1: *Etruscis in urbem ponte sublicio inrumpentibus Horatius Cocles extremam eius partem occupavit totumque hostium agmen, donec post tergum suum pons abrumperetur, infatigabili pugna sustinuit atque, ut patriam periculo inminente liberatam uidit, armatus se in Tiberim misit....*

3.2.1: When the Etruscans were breaking into the city at the Pons Sublicius. Horatius Cocles seized one end of it, and while the bridge was being broken down behind him, he sustained the whole army of the enemy in tireless struggle, so that when he saw that his country was free from imminent danger, he hurled himself into the Tiber fully armed.

3.2.2: *Immemorem me propositi mei Cloelia facit, paene eadem [enim] tempestate, certe aduersus eundem hostem et in eodem Tiberi inclytum ausa*

*facinus: inter ceteras enim uirgines obses Porsennae data hostium nocturno tempore custodiam egressa equum conscendit celerique traiectu fluminis non solum obsidio se, sed etiam metu patriam soluit, uiris puella lumen uirtutis praeferendo.*

3.2.2: Cloelia makes me forget what I intended to say, since she dared a famous deed at almost the same time, certainly against the same enemy, and in the same Tiber. For Cloelia was given to Porsenna as a hostage among the other maidens. Passing the guard at night, she mounted a house and by quickly crossing of the river she freed herself not only from being a hostage, but also freed her country from fear – a young girl – by bearing the light of virtue before men.

3.2.3: *Redeo nunc ad Romulum...*

3.2.3: Now I return to Romulus...

Valerius' chapter on bravery begins with a direct address to Romulus, the founder of Rome. He begged Romulus to permit the writer to discuss one example (*uno exemplo*) of a man who had saved Rome and without whom there would be no Romans to praise Romulus. After discussing this one example – Cocles – Valerius stated that he would then relate a tale of Romulus. Yet that is not what happened. Instead of returning to Romulus after the *uno exemplo* of Cocles, Valerius began to discuss Cloelia, whom he stated made him forget what he was about to write next and who performed a similar deed at the same time, against the same enemy, and at the same place as Cocles. For Valerius, there is a strong connection between Romulus and Cocles, and Cocles and Cloelia. Cocles inherently reminds him of Cloelia. This is due to his memory of the statues and their display contexts. As with the previous examples, this pairing is odd unless we consider the effect of their statues on the authors. Dionysius reported that a statue of Romulus was set up in the Vulcanal, near Cocles' statue, and that Romulus dedicated a bronze

*quadriga* here.<sup>92</sup> This was also near the *lapis niger*, which had strong connections to Romulus, as mentioned above. The presence of monuments of both heroes in the same area cemented them together in Valerius' mind, causing him to connect them in his text. This is the case for Cloelia, too. Richardson reported that there was a statue of Romulus somewhere along the *Sacra via*, between the Regia and the Basilica of Constantine, near Cloelia's statue.<sup>93</sup> Therefore both statues are connected to Romulus, in addition to being connected to each other. Valerius, too, saw these statues in the Forum and paired them both in his memory and in his text.

Seeing the two statues of Cocles and Cloelia on a regular basis while walking along the *Sacra via* would have cemented these two in the mind of Valerius and other Roman authors. We know that art had a powerful effect on Valerius because he stated so in the *praefatio* of 8.11. He stated that art can bring pleasure and that anything deemed worthy of being remembered should be set up in a well-lit place. The author's own statement provides additional evidence that these statues maintained strongholds in his memory and influenced his text. Valerius was influenced by Augustan views on art in this respect. Augustus also knew the importance of art and its effect on its viewers. He created the impression of a stable and monumental empire by using the power of images to influence the Roman people.<sup>94</sup> This influence is obvious in Valerius' text.

Further evidence that Valerius saw Cloelia's statue comes from his own version of Cloelia's story and provides a pseudo-*ekphrasis* of her statue. Valerius said that Cloelia crossed the Tiber on horseback, yet no earlier authors make this claim. Dionysius and Livy stated that Cloelia swam across the Tiber and that she was given a horse as a gift from Porsenna. Thus Valerius took the image of Cloelia on horseback from the statue and applied it to his tale.

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<sup>92</sup> Dionysius 2.54.2; Richardson 1992, 432

<sup>93</sup> Richardson 1992, 372; Servius, *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid* 8.641

<sup>94</sup> Elsner 1996, 41

Plutarch and Florus also reported this version of Cloelia's tale, though others maintained that she swam across the Tiber. Sanders, too, noted this, "There can be no question that the statue caused the invention about the story of the escape on horseback..."<sup>95</sup> Valerius conflated the image of Cloelia with her story. Yet Valerius used Livy's text as a source, and on a few occasions copied his text in his own work, therefore Valerius had access to Livy's version of Cloelia's crossing.<sup>96</sup> This shows that Valerius' memory of Cloelia's statue was stronger and overpowered his memory of Livy's historical text. One can easily remember an image of a female equestrian statue, but it is difficult to recall the exact words on a piece of parchment.

In this respect, statues also causes the viewer to forget pieces of the stories, as Shaya discussed in regards to the *summi viri* statues in the Forum of Augustus. Shaya stated, "Monuments make us forget; taking away the burden of memory, they reduce and simplify historical understanding... The art of remembering is also the art of forgetting."<sup>97</sup> Statues are a condensed version of a story, which can cause the viewer to forget specific details or obliterate the memory of those details entirely. This is highlighted by the opening line of 3.2.2, in which Valerius stated that Cloelia made him forget what he was about to write next. Valerius' memory of Cloelia's statue caused him to forget what he had read in Livy's text and forget the oral history in which Cloelia swam across the Tiber on her own. Although by the time Valerius was writing, there may have already a strong oral tradition that she crossed on horseback, as well, due to the statue. Multiple versions of mytho-historical episodes are not uncommon in Greek and Latin texts, but in this case the additional version seems to derive from Cloelia's statue itself. Cloelia's story was not alone in this respect. Wiseman cited several examples in which

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<sup>95</sup> Sanders 1904, 250

<sup>96</sup> T. Welch 2013, 80-81: Welch notes that Valerius used the same vocabulary as his source when retelling the same stories: e.g. Valerius 9.6.1 and Livy 1.11.

<sup>97</sup> Shaya 2013, 84



monuments altered or created new memories, such as Africanus being falsely remembered as being buried in the tomb of the Scipiones due to the presence of his statue there and Q. Metellus Scipio's error-riddled *tituli* on the statues of his ancestors on the Capitoline.<sup>98</sup> Art has the power to confuse and conflate.

For Valerius, the memory of Cocles is inherently connected to Cloelia, not to Scaevola, who is mentioned at the beginning of the next chapter, 3.3.1, *De Patientia*. Valerius included all three heroes from the historic triad, but left Scaevola out of the pair in 3.2.1-2. Because Valerius had read Livy, he knew that there was a strong relationship between the three heroes. All three performed famous deeds at almost the same time, the same place, against the same enemy, swam the Tiber, and essentially saved Rome. Given that Valerius said that Cloelia performed a similar deed at the same time, against the same enemy, and at the same place as Cocles, one would expect that this would be reason enough to include Scaevola here, too. Instead, Valerius paired Cocles and Cloelia due to the presence of their public monuments in the Forum and his memory of them, temporarily leaving out Scaevola, who Valerius knew belonged historically and therefore added later.

Although Valerius did copy other authors, namely Livy, it is clear that he did spend time in Rome.<sup>99</sup> His conflation of the Cloelia's tale with her statue provides evidence that he saw both statues in the Forum and did not simply copy texts from other authors. Had he copied directly from Livy and not seen the statue, he would have said that she swam the Tiber. Also, since the statue itself resided in Rome, the alternate oral tradition of Cloelia crossing on

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<sup>98</sup> Wiseman 1994, 39

<sup>99</sup> Bailey 2000, 1: Not much is known about Valerius' life, although he tells his readers that he was acquainted with Sextus Pompeius, who was a consul in 14 CE and was involved in a literary circle with Ovid.

horseback would be localized to Rome. Thus even if Valerius had only heard the story and not seen the statue, this still places him in Rome.

#### iv. Pliny the Elder

Next, Pliny the Elder paired Cocles and Cloelia when he was discussing Cloelia's statue:

34.13 ... *et equestrium tamen origo perquam vetus est, cum feminis etiam honore communicato **Cloeliae** statua equestri, ceu parum esset toga eam cingi, cum lucretiae ac Bruto, qui expulerant reges, propter quos **Cloelia** inter obsides fuerat, non decernerentur. hanc primam cum **Coclitis** publice dicatam crediderim - atto enim ac sibyllae tarquinium, ac reges sibi ipsos posuisse verisimile est...*

34.13: ...The origin of equestrian statues, however, is extremely ancient, and when this honor was extended to women, with the equestrian statue of Cloelia, as if it were not enough that she be clothed in a toga, although statues were not ordained for Lucretia and Brutus, who expelled the kings, on account of whom Cloelia was a hostage, among others. I believe that this statue along with that of Cocles was the first erected at public expense – for it is likely that Tarquin and those kings set up the statues of Attus Navius and the Sybil by themselves...

Pliny began to discuss Cloelia's equestrian statue, but was reminded of Cocles' statue.

Pliny bonded the two statues together because he said they were the first statues erected at public expense. This statement provides additional evidence for why Cocles and Cloelia were so often paired. Because the general population remembered that the original statues were both set up at public expense at the same time, they were remembered together. This evolved into the statues being remembered as a pair. Even if the reason for the initial pairing was forgotten, it was well known that a relationship existed between the two statues, though separated by distance in the Forum. What is also interesting about this passage is that the mention of Cocles reminded Pliny of the statues of Attus Navius and Sybil. Pliny said that these were erected by kings instead of the public, providing one reason for mentioning them, but more importantly, these statues were right next to Cocles' statue in the Comitium. Pliny connected the statues by location in the

Forum, making it clear that he was thinking of the statues in their display contexts rather than the chronological order in which the statues were erected.

#### v. Silius Italicus

Silius Italicus also paired the two heroes in his *Punica* when discussing the family history of Cloelius. Because Silius Italicus did not make any direct allusions to art or noteworthy comments on the relationship of Cocles and Cloelia I have not included the translation here. In his text, Silius Italicus gave a brief account of the renowned deeds of Cocles and Cloelia and praised Cloelia's bravery in spite of her age (twelve, according to the author) and gender. Silius Italicus attached Cocles to Cloelia's tale, but not Scaevola. As with Virgil's *Aeneid*, it does not make sense that Scaevola is ignored because of scansion or lack of space; Silius Italicus, too, could have easily added another line for Scaevola or cut out an existing part of the text to make room for this hero. Scaevola is also a dactyl (– ~ ~) and would fit easily into dactylic hexameter, the meter of his *Punica*. In fact, Silius Italicus had mentioned "Scaevola" in 8.384 and "Mucius" two lines later. Once again, as in Valerius' text, Scaevola stands alone while Cocles and Cloelia are paired. In the text surrounding the pairing of Cocles and Cloelia there are no references to art, yet that does not mean that he could not have been thinking about art or remembering the statues. Silius Italicus was friends with Pliny the Younger and a consul under Emperor Nero.<sup>100</sup> Thus it seems that Silius Italicus had seen the Forum and likely the statues of Cocles and Cloelia.

#### vi. Dio Cassius

Cocles, Cloelia, and Scaevola were favorite figures of Dio Cassius, who paired Cocles and Scaevola three times, mentioned Cloelia solo once, and paired Cocles and Cloelia in 45.31.1:

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<sup>100</sup> Pliny the Younger 3.7

τάχα γ' ἂν οὗτος ἢ τὸν Ὁράτιον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον ἢ καὶ τὴν Κλοίλιαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐμιμήσατο, ὧν ἡ μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα πᾶσαν ἐνδεδουκῶα τὸν ποταμὸν διενήξατο, ὁ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐς τὸ ρέυμα ἑαυτὸν ἐνέβαλεν. ἄξιόν γε 'οὐ γάρ;' καὶ τούτου τινὰ εἰκόνα στήσαι, ἵν' ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷ Τιβέριδι ὀπλισμένος, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γυμνὸς ὀρῶτο.

It is possible that he was imitating that legendary Horatius or archaic Cloelia, who swam across the river with all of her clothes on, or [Horatius] who threw himself into the river along with all of his weapons. It would seem fitting to erect a statue of him [Antony] too, so that while one man is armed in the Tiber, the other might be seen nude in the Forum.

Yet again Cocles and Cloelia are paired and Scaevola is left out. Here it is clear that Dio Cassius was thinking about the Forum and the statues, thus the reason why he paired Cocles and Cloelia. In 45.30.3 Dio Cassius mentioned the Forum (τῇ ἀγορᾷ) and the Rostra (πρὸς τῷ βήματι), a setting which he was still picturing a few sentences later in 45.31.1 when he wrote about Cocles and Cloelia. Immediately after briefly telling their tales, Dio Cassius mentioned setting up a statue (εἰκόνα) of Antony in the Forum and made a comparison between Antony and Cocles. Dio Cassius' prose explicitly highlights his thought process in naming Cocles and Cloelia. He began by describing the setting for the statues, then mentioned the two heroes, then discussed a potential statue of Antony, comparing it with that of Cocles'. Dio Cassius' memory of the Forum drove his text. He cited visual examples from the Forum and neglected Scaevola in this context. He did mention Scaevola with Cocles shortly after in 45.32.3, but united them via their battle wounds.

#### vii. Servius

Finally, Servius paired Cocles and Cloelia in his *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid*.<sup>101</sup> Servius added additional comments to expand on the historical figures and mentioned Cloelia's statue. Servius, too, briefly relayed the deeds of Cocles and Cloelia and excluded Scaevola,

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<sup>101</sup> Servius, *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid* 8.646

though this is fitting since Virgil discussed only these heroes. Yet, since Servius further explained the stories of the two heroes, this would have been an opportune time to discuss Scaevola, as well. Servius also included Cloelia's statue, but not Cocles', and noted that Cloelia's statue still stood in his time on the Sacra via. In this respect, Servius showed Virgil's motivation for pairing Cocles and Cloelia, but for whatever reason did not mention Cocles' statue. There are many possibilities here. First, that Servius never entered the Forum, or possibly even Rome (little is known about Servius' life). In this case Servius may have relied on textual information from other authors who mention Cloelia's statue. Second, that Servius did travel to or live in Rome, and simply did not see or write about Cocles' statue. Or third, if he did see Rome and the Forum, by the time he wrote his commentary (late fourth-early fifth century CE) there may not have been a statue of Cocles. The Visigoths besieged Rome in 410 CE, led by Alaric I.<sup>102</sup> During the third siege on August 24th the Curia Julia was heavily damaged. Cocles' statue, which stood in this area, could have been damaged or destroyed during this siege. The exact date of Servius' text is unknown, however, and therefore could have been written before the sack of Rome. Thus Servius' text is a bit of a mystery. Although the reason for Servius' pairing of Cocles and Cloelia is not as apparent as in the aforementioned texts it is still noteworthy that Servius maintained this pairing, set forth by Virgil, and that he included evidence about Cloelia's statue, as if to show where Virgil drew his inspiration for pairing the heroes.

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<sup>102</sup> Heather 2006, 227-228

#### PART IV. CONCLUSIONS: ART & MEMORY

Although Cocles, Cloelia, and Scaevola were historically discussed as a triad, Cocles and Cloelia were often paired in ancient texts due to the presence of their statues in the Roman Forum. Though truly a statue pair, these statues were distanced in the Forum; Cocles' statue stood in the Comitium and then later the Vulcanal, just southeast of the Comitium, while Cloelia's statue sat on the *summa sacra via* across from the Temple of Romulus and the former Temple of Jupiter Stator and was restored by Augustus. In the seven paired examples of Cocles and Cloelia the authors paired the two figures because they remembered their statues in the Roman Forum and bonded the two figures in their memories. Many of these authors had access to historical texts that included all three of the heroes who fought against King Porsenna at the same time and place. Instead of following the historians by listing all three heroes, these seven authors paired Cocles and Cloelia, revealing the powerful impact that art had on the Roman mind. Because there was no statue of Scaevola, he could not be included in this visual memory. The visual memories of the statues overpowered the authors' knowledge of history as learned via texts. This study shows that the pairing of Cocles and Cloelia in texts is derived from art, showing the power art has to influence ancient authors. Although text is often thought of as informing scholars about ancient art, here art is clearly influencing the text, as well as the memory of the authors.

This analysis helps inform the studies of ancient art and text, showing that art affected the texts, and that while we can use texts to inform ourselves about ancient art, the art itself is the more influential agent. The statues themselves caused their viewers to remember their stories, either read in texts or learned via oral history, and their repeated textual references highlight the relationship between art and text. Both visual images and stories in text evoke memories. For the

statues of Cocles and Cloelia, the viewer remembered their exemplary deeds in conjunction with the other statue. These deeds and ekphrastic elements of their statues appear again and again due to the regular viewing of their public statues in the Forum. Although art and text are intimately related, as Laird noted in his comparisons of Aeneas' reaction to visual art and Odysseus' reaction to poetry, verbal art, the visual art, particularly that in public space, ultimately affects the text, and in this case, the pairings of historical figures.<sup>103</sup> Public art dictated the pairing of Cocles and Cloelia.

Romans also remembered these statues because they also had a practical function. The statues of Cocles and Cloelia may have also been used as meeting points. Josephine Shaya discussed the statues of the Forum of Augustus as designated meeting places for court cases.<sup>104</sup> Court cases took place in the Comitium prior to 80 BCE before Sulla remodeled it.<sup>105</sup> Cocles' statue and those around it might have also been used as meeting points in the same way that the statues of the Forum of Augustus were. The statues could have served as meeting places for friends, colleagues, etc., outside of a judicial function. If the statues of Cloelia and Cocles were used as meeting points, this would ensure that the Romans remembered the identity of the statue.

Statues were also used as landmarks when giving directions. According to Shaya, "In antiquity, monuments, such as specific statues in the Forum, were a means of navigating cities that had few street names and no addresses. As a result, inhabitants and visitors conceptualized locations in terms of monuments and statuary." Diane Favro cited an example from the playwright, Terence, in the second century BCE in which one character gives another directions

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<sup>103</sup> Laird 1996, 88-89, 94-97

<sup>104</sup> Shaya 2013, 90-91

<sup>105</sup> Coarelli 2008, 53

based on landmarks rather than street names.<sup>106</sup> The statues of Cocles and Cloelia could have been used as directional landmarks, in addition to meeting places, further cementing the statues in the memories of Romans.

Pliny the Elder provides additional evidence that Romans remembered public monuments when writing their texts, as discussed briefly above. In 34.11 and 34.13 he remembered the statues based on their physical relationships to each other rather than the historical relationships of the men. He must have been envisioning the Forum and its monuments as he wrote. This is particularly interesting, especially because Pliny also discussed the *Annales*, historical documents that he indicated he had access to. Here, too, we see that the visual memory overpowered the memory of text. Instead of listing public monuments in chronological order he listed them based on their relation to other monuments in the Forum and in his memory.

The seven paired *exempla* of Cocles and Cloelia, the figures on Aeneas' shield, and the statues of Cocles and Cloelia all appear in jumbled historical contexts. Valerius crafted accounts of historical events but arranged them by theme, not date. Like Valerius, Virgil discussed historical and legendary figures from vastly different time periods. Andrew Laird suggested that visual images and stories are interchangeable, to a certain extent, in that they evoke similar emotions: both art and text tell stories.<sup>107</sup> The textual examples remind us that art and environment affect the mind of the author and his text. Favro also discussed the impact of the physical environment on the Romans, stating "Movement through a physical environment was one of the most powerful ways to learn and to remember."<sup>108</sup> As Romans walked through the Forum he did not see a chronologically crafted order of buildings and monuments, rather a mixed

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<sup>106</sup> Favro 1996, 5: Terence's *Adelphi*

<sup>107</sup> Laird 1996, 88-89

<sup>108</sup> Favro 1996, 6



context of art and architecture from various time periods. They saw different snapshots of history, much like we see on Aeneas' shield and in Valerius' works. In this way Romans remembered historical figures based upon where their monuments were located rather than in a chronological list in their minds.

Favro and Yates discussed the upper-class Romans' training to do just this. Favro stated that the Romans were trained to remember their surroundings and to find connections between monuments.<sup>109</sup> Yates explained further that when an orator wished to create a detailed memory, he associated the memory with the images in the rooms of a building.<sup>110</sup> When he wanted to retrieve the memory, he simply needed to return to memory of that building in his mind. Educated Romans were trained to see the connection between Cocles and Cloelia and to remember the location of their statues; they were trained to let art impact them. Favro also stated that even the uneducated Romans would be able to read their environments from oral history and daily experiences.

Romans, too, knew of the relationship between art and memory.<sup>111</sup> Erase the images, erase the memory, and by contrast, preserve the images, preserve the memory. More effort, however, was geared towards creating memories and shaping the urban experience. Augustus was the master of this, making it his goal to memorialize and restore Rome's Republic.<sup>112</sup> Augustus' *summi viri* statues in his Forum ensured that the Romans remembered these figures, thus preserving specific elements of Rome's early history and Republican past.

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<sup>109</sup> Favro 1996, 7

<sup>110</sup> Yates 1966 2-4; Rea 2007 9-10; Cicero, *De Oratore* 2.86.351-354; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 11.2.17-22

<sup>111</sup> Gowing 2005, 2-4; Cicero, *Rep.* 5.1.2

<sup>112</sup> Zanker 1990, 18-19, 101

Romans had the power to take away memories, as well, by destroying these images. Caraculla exercised *damnatio memoriae* to erase the memory of his brother, Gaeta, via ridding Rome of his images.<sup>113</sup> Pliny wrote that the statues of Alcibiades and Pythagoras stood in the corners of the Comitium until Sulla rebuilt the Curia Hostilia, when they were removed.<sup>114</sup> Although Pliny still remembered these statues or had access to texts that discussed them, the general population probably was unaware of their existence. By removing the statues, Sulla changed the Romans' experience in the Comitium. Erasing these images, to some degree, erased their memory.

This study is not only important for understanding the paired references of Cocles and Cloelia, but it also has a broader application. These two statues impacted Roman authors and their texts, revealing the power of art and providing additional motivation for scholars to understand both philology and archaeology. Art is important and impacts us, whether we know it or not. Art was important to the Romans, and whether or not they were aware of its effects, they were greatly impacted by their surroundings. So much so, that this impact is visible in their texts. This pairing of Cocles and Cloelia is a subconscious one. The associated memories of the statues joined together because the Romans knew the stories of the statues and knew that the stories and statues went together. How the Romans remembered their history is important because this study shows that much of their history was learned through art and that art could have a more powerful effect than history books. Visual aids carry weight and a visual memory is stronger than a textual one. If art impacted the Romans in such a way that it affected their texts, then art surely has a strong impact on us today. For this reason we must continue to study ancient art and its impact on the Roman memory. This is also why it is important for Classicists

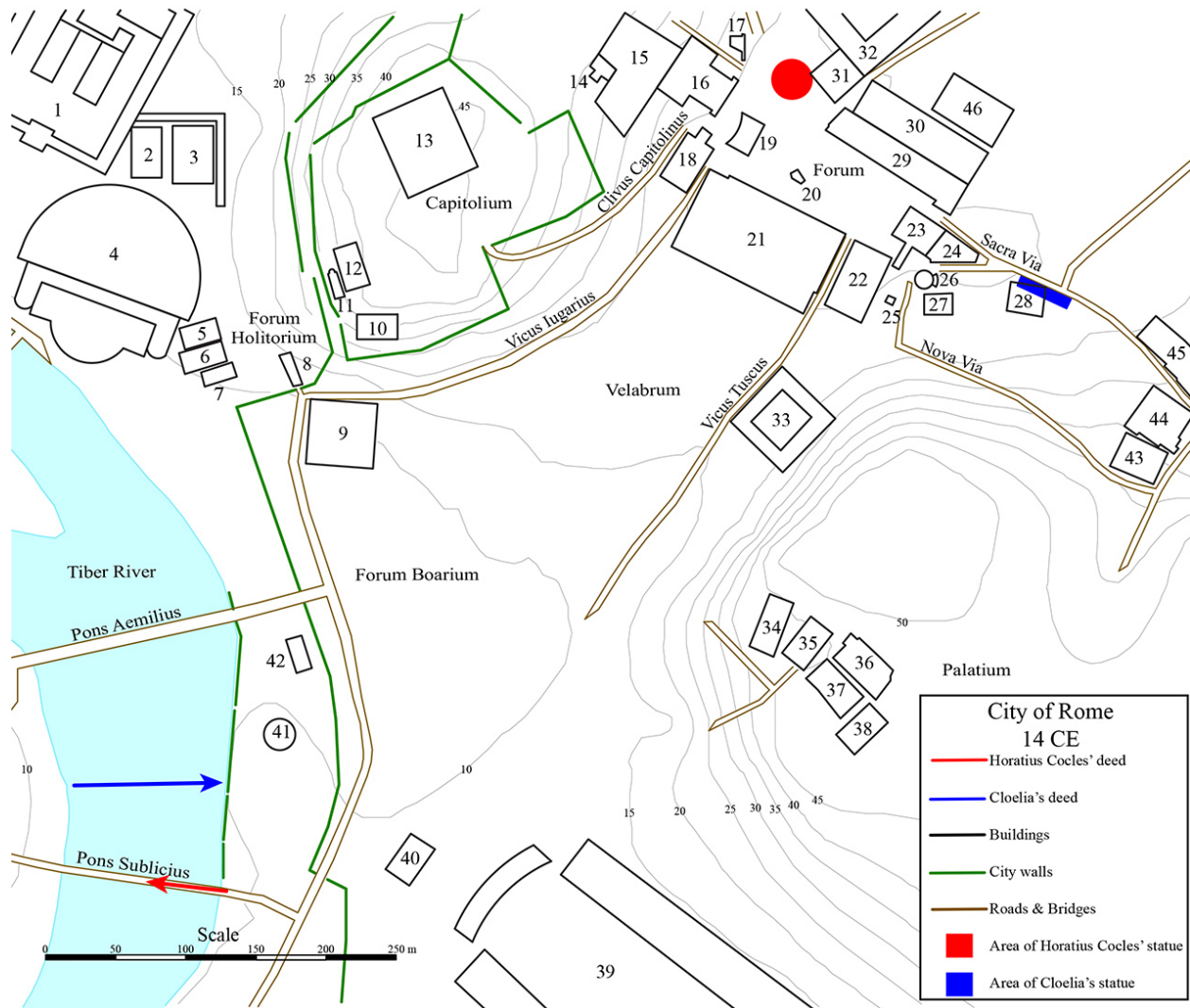
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<sup>113</sup> Gowing 2005, 2

<sup>114</sup> Pliny 34.12

to study the archaeology of ancient Rome. The art and architecture of ancient Rome impacted the authors and the texts. Studying the Romans' urban environment allows us to better understand the Roman texts. This study is important to understand the overall context of the stories and monuments of Cocles and Cloelia and those memories, but more importantly, they offer a general understanding of how art impacts text. Without knowing that Cocles and Cloelia had statues in the Forum, the pairing of the two heroes does not make sense. But when we understand the reason for the pairing – their honorific statues in the Forum – we understand the true impact that art had on the memory of Roman authors and the Roman people.

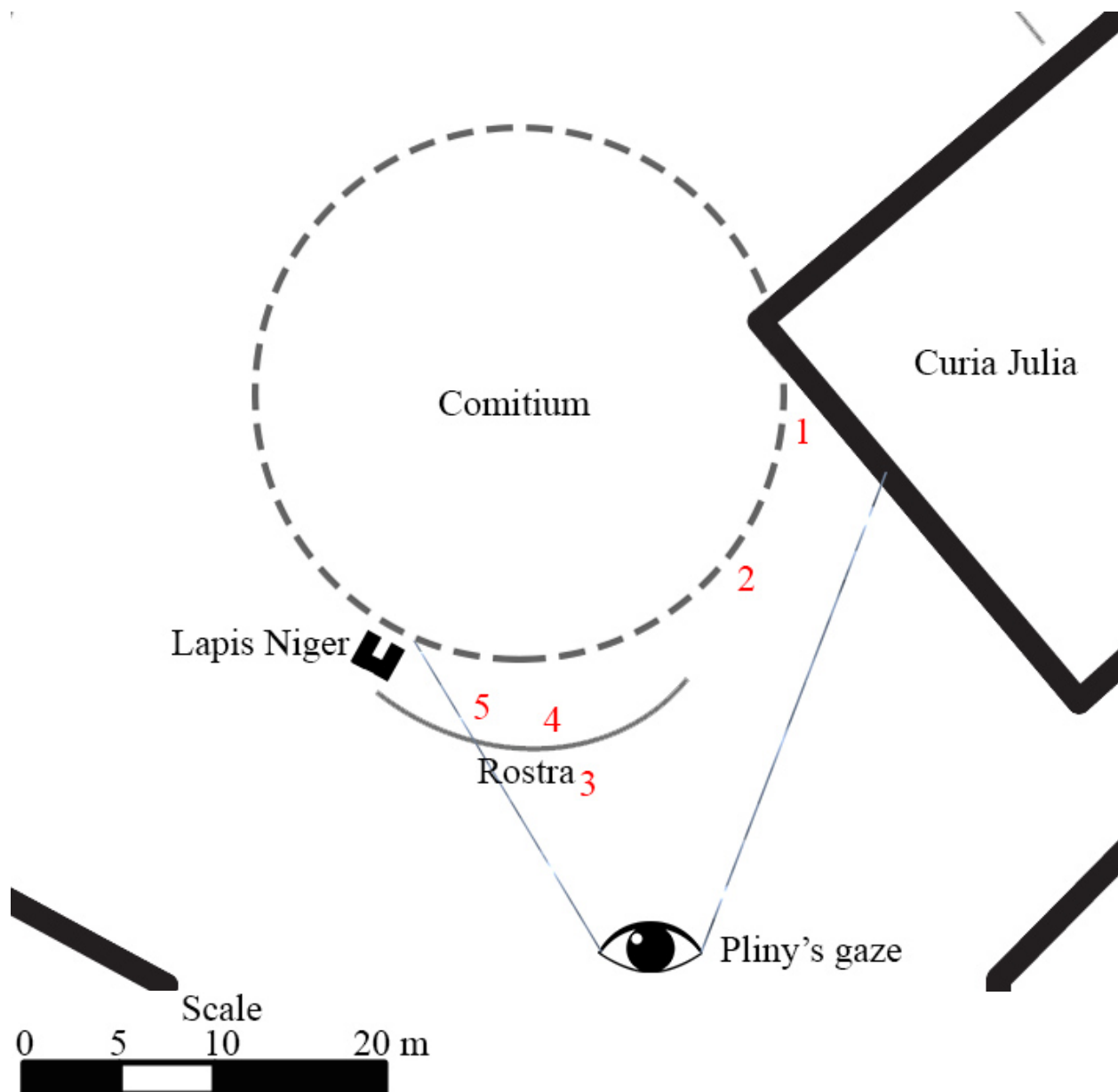
## Image Index



**Figure 1:** City of Rome, 14 CE (adapted from L. Haselberger and D.G. Romano, 2002)

### Buildings:

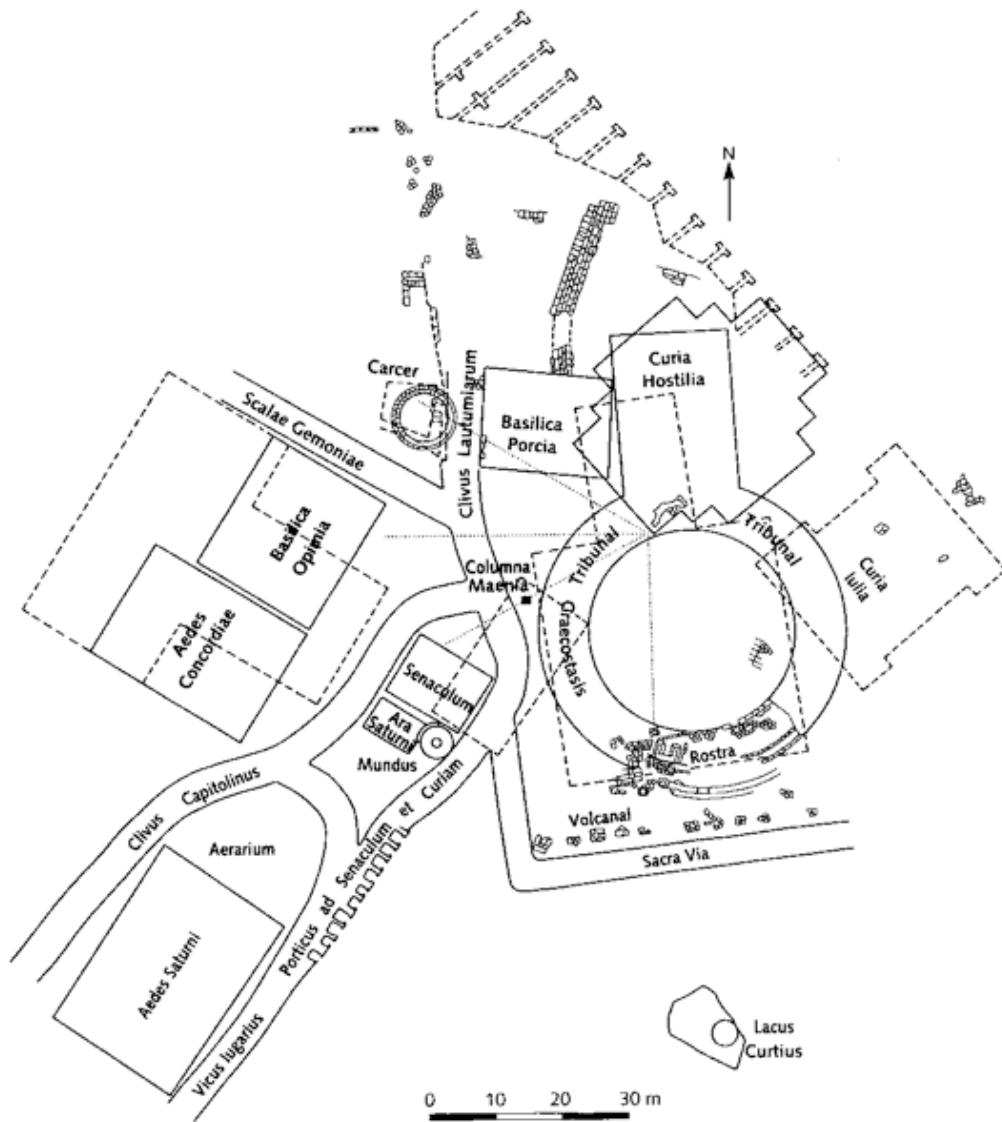
- |                                     |                                       |                                  |                                |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Porticus Octaviae                | 12. Marble Plan                       | 23. Temple of Divus Julius       | 35. Temple of Victory          |
| 2. Temple of Apollo Medicus         | 13. Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus | 24. Regia                        | 36. Domus: Livia               |
| 3. Temple of Bellona                | 14. Temple of Veiovis                 | 25. Lacus Juturnae               | 37. Domus: Augustus            |
| 4. Theater of Marcellus             | 15. Tabularium                        | 26. Temple of Vesta              | 38. Temple of Apollo           |
| 5. Temple of Janus                  | 16. Temple of Augustus                | 27. Atrium Vestae                | 39. Circus Maximus             |
| 6. Temple of Juno Sospita           | 17. Carcer                            | 28. Domus Publica                | 40. Altar of Hercules          |
| 7. Temple of Spes                   | 18. Temple of Saturn                  | 29. Porticus of Gaius and Lucius | 41. Round Temple: Tiberis      |
| 8. Porticus Forum Holitorium        | 19. Felicitas                         | 30. Basilica Amilia              | 42. Temple of Portunus         |
| 9. Temple of Fortuna & Mater Matuta | 20. Lacus Curtius                     | 31. Curia Julia                  | 43. Domus: Nova Via Scaurus    |
| 10. Temple of Fides                 | 21. Basilica Julia                    | 32. Forum of Caesar              | 44. Domus: M. Aemilius Scaurus |
| 11. Porta Padana                    | 22. Temple of Castor                  | 33. Horrea Agrippiana            | 45. Horrea: Sacra via          |
|                                     |                                       | 34. Temple of Magna Mater        | 46. Macellum                   |



**Figure 2:** Pliny's gaze - reconstructing Pliny's vantage point.

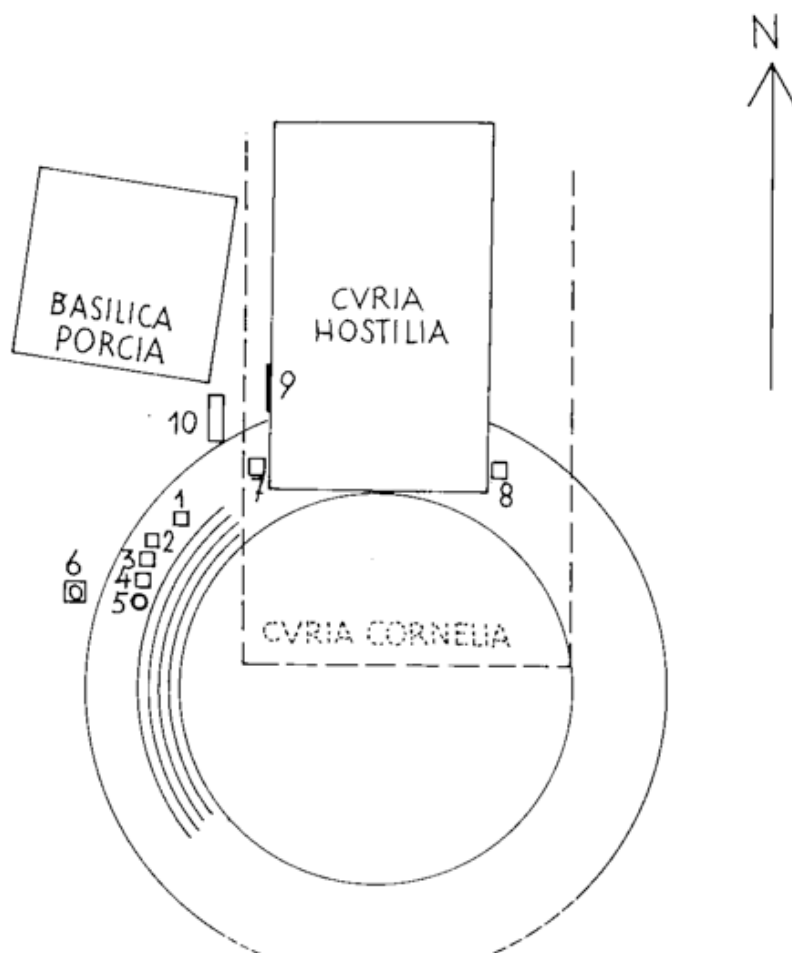
Statues (approximate locations)

1. Attus Navius
2. Hermodorus of Ephesus
3. Horatius Cocles
4. The Sybils
5. Camilius



**FIGURE 15.** The Comitium and the western side of the Forum in the Republican period (before Sulla).

**Figure 3:** Comitium area in the late Republican period, before Sulla (Coarelli 2008, 52).



21. Pianta schematica del Comizio di età medio-repubblicana, con indicazione della posizione presunta dei vari monumenti: 1) *statua Atti Navii*; 2) *figus ruminalis*; 3) *lupa*; 4) *Marsya*; 5) *puteal*; 6) *columna Maenia*; 7) *statua Pythagorae*; 8) *statua Alcibiadis*; 9) *tabula Valeria*; 10) *subsellia tribunicia*.

**Figure 4:** Schematic plan of the Comitium from the mid-Republican period showing the approximate locations of statues (Coarelli 1986, 120).

**Figure 5:** References to Cocles, Cloelia, and Scaevola in ancient texts (Cocles and Cloelia pairing highlighted in yellow).

Author	Work	Citation	Cocles	Cloelia	Scaevola	Statue
Polybius	<i>Histories</i>	6.55	1			
Cicero	<i>De Officiis</i>	1.61	1	1		Cocles
	<i>Paradoxa stoicorum ad M. Brutum</i>	1.12	1		1	
	<i>Pro Sestio</i>	48			1	
Propertius	<i>Elegies</i>	3.11.63	1			
Virgil	<i>Aeneid</i>	8.646	1	1		
Dionysius of Halicarnassus	<i>Roman Antiquities</i>	5.23-35	1	1	1	Cocles, Cloelia
Manilius	<i>Astronomica</i>	1.777-781	1	1	1	
Livy	<i>Ab Urbe Condita</i>	2.10-13	1	1	1	Cocles, Cloelia
Valerius Maximus	<i>Facta et Dicta Memorabilia</i>	3.2.1-2	1	1		
	<i>Facta et Dicta Memorabilia</i>	3.3.1			1	
Appendix Vergiliana	<i>Culex (the gnat)</i>	361-372	1		1	
Seneca the Elder	<i>Controversiae</i>	10.2.3	1		1	
Seneca the Younger	<i>De Consolatio ad Marciam/ Moral Essays</i>	6.16.2		1		Cloelia
	<i>Dialogi, De providentia</i>	3.4-5			1	
	<i>Epistles</i>	120.7	1			
Pliny the Elder	<i>Natural Histories</i>	34.11	1			Cocles
	<i>Natural Histories</i>	34.13	1	1		Cocles, Cloelia
	<i>Natural Histories</i>	36.100.	1			
Silius Italicus	<i>Punica</i>	10.484-492.	1	1		
	<i>Punica</i>	13.83		1		
	<i>Punica</i>	8.384			1	
Frontinus	<i>Stratagems</i>	2.13.5	1			
Quintilian	<i>Institutio Oratoria</i>	5.11.10	1			



Plutarch	<i>Life of Publicola</i>	16	1			Cocles
	<i>Life of Publicola</i>	17			1	
	<i>Life of Publicola</i>	19		1		Cloelia
	<i>Moralia: on the fortune of the Romans</i>	3.1	1		1	
	<i>Moralia: Precepts of statecraft</i>	27.1	1			Cocles
	<i>De Mulierem Virtutibus</i>	14		1		Cloelia
Martial	<i>Epigrams</i>	1.21			1	
Lucius A. Florus	<i>Epitome of Roman History</i>	1.4	1	1	1	
Aulus Gellius	<i>Attic Nights</i>	4.5	1			Cocles
Appian	<i>Kings (reg.)</i>	Fragment 10	1			
Polyaenus	<i>Stratagems</i>	8.31.1		1		
Iuvenal	<i>Satires</i>	8.265	1	1	1	
Ampelius	<i>Liber Memorialis</i>	20.4	1		1	
Dio Cassius	<i>Roman History</i>	31.1				
	<i>Roman History</i>	45.32.2	1		1	
	<i>Roman History</i>	46.19.8	1		1	
	<i>Roman History</i>	53.8.3	1		1	
	<i>Roman History</i>	Fragment 4.14		1		
	<i>Roman History</i>	45.31.1	1	1		
	<i>Roman History</i>	Fragment book 4			1	
Aurelius Victor	<i>De viris illustribus</i>	11-13	1	1	1	Cocles, Cloelia, Sacevola
Maurus Servius Honoratus	<i>Commentary on Aeneid</i>	8.646	1	1		Cloelia
Orosius	<i>Historiae Adversum Paganos</i>	2.5.3		1	1	
<b>Totals</b>			<b>32</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>22</b>	

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